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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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lar or unpopular—to preserve and conserve the Nation that he serves.

The public opinion polls, (which should be printed with the weather reports since they show only which way the wind is blowing yesterday), are not the kind of reports on which a leader can safely base the course of the most imposing ship of state the world has ever known. Other more urgent signs must be read and weighed: The direction the wind is blowing is not nearly so important as where that wind may be taking us.

I do not intend to speak of the battle for preservation, except to note that President Johnson is pursuing America's best interests with strength and determination. On a battlefield far from our everyday world of home we are winning a war to preserve our very way of life.

That the President has also found the resources to lead a historic crusade on behalf of this country's natural beauty and resources is almost a miracle. But it is a miracle with real substance.

His Administrations' record of conservation legislation is more than substantial—it is the greatest list of accomplishments on behalf of the overall environment that has ever been written into the Nation's law books. This is my field and I am particularly proud of it.

In the realm of Indian affairs, for example, we have seen substantial progress from a base of need and inequity unmatched by any other group of Americans . . .

More than 5,000 units of low-cost housing have been built or are under construction by nearly 100 tribal housing authorities . . . more than 100 industrial and commercial firms have established plants on or near Indian reservations creating jobs for several thousand Indians . . . gross income from Indian national resource production increased more than \$20 million in the last fiscal year to a total of \$180 million. Mineral leases brought in another \$30 million . . . more than 2,000 Indian students last year received BIA college scholarships and grants, double the number of just three years ago . . . beyond the statistics Indian people, Indian leadership, are taking an ever more active role in shaping their own future, in making the decisions necessary for increased progress.

President Johnson's conservation program has extended beyond humans (although with an eye to hunters, anglers, and wildlife-watchers) and has taken cognizance of our embattled fish and wildlife. From December 1, 1963, through July 1967, nearly 709,000 acres were added to the National Wildlife Refuge system, including nearly 105,000 acres of refuge lands and more than 604,000 acres of waterfowl breeding areas.

Until recently, water has been our most abused natural resource. The state of the Nation's waterways was a state of scandal and disgrace. Today, the pollution brakes are on, control measures are gathering strength and speed, and it is now possible to predict an end to mounting pollution and a gradual rollback to ever-cleaner, purer water.

Research in weather modification is under way, with Government scientists seeking to induce precipitation from clouds, to increase the runoff, which then could be stored in reservoirs already built and released during dry periods. Research appropriations for weather modification in Fiscal 1965 and 1966 totaled nearly \$7 million—double that of all previous years.

An expanded and extended program of research and development in desalting ocean and brackish water was approved in 1965, authorizing five years of work with \$200 million ceiling. Out of this, in part, will grow by the early 1970's a 150-million-gallon-per-day nuclear-powered operation for the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California—the world's biggest desalting plant by far. It will provide fresh water

enough to supply a city the size of San Francisco or Washington, D.C. and will generate enough power for a city the size of Philadelphia.

Wide-frame thinking has gone into the Johnson Administration's approach to our mineral resources. The approach today is not just to hang onto our known reserves and use them in the wisest way, but to stand back and look at the entire minerals picture—including what to do with the mounting piles of discarded junk that deadend these resources and mar the countryside.

Stepped-up Government efforts to relieve mining areas of underground fires, subsidence and blight, protected and improved property valued at nearly \$2.5 billion and improved the quality of life for 6.5 million Americans living in these areas. The projects involved, approved by the Appalachian Regional Commission for Federal-State cost sharing, are providing nearly 800 man-years of work in an economically depressed region.

It matters not in what direction you turn your eyes here on the home front. The environmental battle is going forward with vigor, with vision, and above all, with an interlocking purpose about it. People, resources, wildlife, all the elements of the environment we live in and are part of, are receiving due regard in the Federal scheme of things. This is a new departure. This is heads-up, alert, intelligent planning—a far cry from the finger-in-the-dike approach with which we have made-do in the past. But today, we realize that well-enough then is no longer applicable to today's world.

I submit that it takes a man with vision and courage to tackle the wide range of problems that President Johnson has put his hand to. A lesser man would have pulled at least one of his punches. But the world view was taken by the President.

He saw that preservation of our way of life against an alien ideology which threatened from without, must be given equal attention with conservation of our fabric of life against the waste and overcrowding and pollution that threaten from within.

The fights for social and political preservation of our way of life, and the conservation of the environmental quality of our land, are companion struggles. To win either one and lose the other would be a national tragedy.

I count myself extremely fortunate to be serving under the leadership of such a President.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, the Washington Evening Star of November 2, 1967, contains an editorial entitled "Commonsense and the Arabs."

It deals with one of the most troubling situations we face in the world today—the continuing difficulties in the Middle East.

The editorial states accurately and concisely what is at the root of the uneasiness in the Middle East. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONSENSE AND THE ARABS

It is difficult to see what the Arab states hope to gain by their continuing refusal to recognize Israel and negotiate a definitive peace treaty with it. The longer they adhere to such negativism, the harder they will find the bargaining when they at last agree—as they eventually must—to engage in talks for an enduring settlement.

This has been made quite clear by Premier

Levi Eshkol in his latest address to the Israeli Parliament. The situation that existed before the six-day war in June "shall never be restored." As long as the Arabs decline to talk, Israel will consolidate its position in all the occupied areas—the Golan Heights of Syria, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Desert, the west bank of the Jordan River, and regions affecting freedom of passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal. As for Jerusalem, the Israelis apparently intend to hold on to the whole of it, permanently—a decision that runs defiantly counter to world opinion as expressed in a 99-to-0 vote by the United Nations General Assembly.

Aside from Jerusalem, however, and certain other places deemed vital to security, Israel, according to Eshkol, "is prepared to conduct direct negotiations with all the neighboring Arab countries or with any one of them separately," to resolve boundary questions. Presumably assuming good faith on both sides, the negotiations could result in a return to the Arabs of most of the occupied regions. The Israelis themselves have reason to favor such a return. After all, the areas that fell to them in June are inhabited by more than 1 million Arabs with a very high birthrate, and Israel can hardly relish the idea of trying to annex and govern so many potentially hostile people—a force that might be used by the more reckless Arab leaders to create an underground terrorist army.

At the moment, with the Israelis stiffening their bargaining terms with each passing day, and with the Arabs still calling for the annihilation of their Jewish neighbor, the outlook for any progress toward direct negotiations—with or without the help of a United Nations intermediary—seems almost hopeless. Yet Eshkol and his government are not entirely pessimistic: "We believe that there are positive internal forces here and in the area which are working toward peace in the Middle East. In this peace lies the starting point for a solution of the area's problems, including the problem of the Arab refugees."

Israel is ready to begin negotiating at once, but the other side adamantly rejects the idea. So the situation hardens, ceasefire violations escalate, and the threat of a renewal of full-scale war grows rather than lessens. It is hard to believe that this is the direction in which responsible Arab leaders really want events to drift.

ARE THEY BUGGING YOU?

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the Philadelphia Inquirer of September 24, 1967, contains an interesting article entitled "Proliferating Miniature Technology: Are They Bugging You?—The High Art of Modern Eavesdropping."

Since this is an interesting survey of the "art of modern eavesdropping," I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROLIFERATING MINIATURE TECHNOLOGY: ARE THEY BUGGING YOU?—THE HIGH ART OF MODERN EAVESDROPPING

(NOTE.—The article which follows was written for "West" magazine of the Los Angeles Times and obtained through the services of that newspaper.)

(By Keith Monroe)

If this hasn't happened to you yet, it may: You are dickering with a car salesman. He excuses himself. Your family presses you to buy on his terms—and somehow he knows it when he returns. He makes no better offer. You end up settling for a worse deal than was likely.

In an angry moment in your office, you pop off about someone to your confidential secretary. Unaccountably it gets to the wrong ears. You lose the promotion you expected.

Your innocent telephone banter with an old friend is mysteriously overheard and misinterpreted. It becomes common gossip, embarrassing you and your friend.

Your opponents in a lawsuit seem magically forewarned of your attorney's plans. They outmaneuver you and win the case.

A neighbor becomes aware that an eccentricity of his is a household joke within your family. Your friendship with him is permanently frostbitten.

You confide a secret of your past to your doctor or clergyman. Soon you are blackmailed by a stranger who somehow knows your secret.

Such misfortunes would once/have been attributed to clairvoyance. Today it's a matter of electronics. For fun or profit, someone planted a "bug" nearby and overheard your private conversation.

Electronic eavesdropping is not new. But the advent of micro-miniaturization in the last four years has made snooping devices smaller, cheaper, more reliable—and more common. The general public has lately been buying them eagerly. Today anyone interested, or idly curious, can invisibly invade your privacy at will. No earphone or special receivers are needed.

Popular electronics magazines publish mail-order advertisements with headings like "How to Spy," proffering such conveniences as a "Supersensitive directional microphone (which) picks up faint sounds at 300 feet." Another offers a stethoscope mike that "detects sound through ordinary walls. Easily built for \$7. No electronics experience necessary." A Hollywood mail-order merchant coaxes readers in a bold ad to "eavesdrop with a pack of cigarettes. Miniaturized FM radio transmitter. Complete diagrams and instruction, \$2."

AMATEUR COME-ONS

For those who can't read plans or aren't handy with a soldering iron, snooping is made easier. Lowbrow magazines advertise tape recorders that "can be concealed in a pocket" and a "bumper beeper—instantly attachable to a car so you can trail it without seeing it." Bargain-hunting amateur spies can send for a "bugging devices information guide. Lists wholesale and retail sources. Save half on some items." The guide describes a whole arsenal of tiny instruments. One factory sells a tiny microcscope hidden in a quarter-inch rubber mat for slipping under doors; it can transmit to a hidden recorder so sensitive that the sound of voices turns it on and off. Another company purveys "an integrated business surveillance system" concealed in a briefcase so that "it may be 'accidentally left behind,' still recording."

In 1966, the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure called in the chief engineers or general managers of five obscure electronics firms in the Los Angeles area. Since then all but one of those individuals have separated from the firms, and the firms themselves no longer exist under the same names, although successor companies seem to be thriving at the same locations. There is nothing furtive about the attitude of these companies toward the press. A reporter who recently visited some of them was welcomed, shown their arrays of bugs and told how to install them, and even allowed to browse through order files on the understanding that names would stay off the record.

Most names in these files are "Smith" and "Jones," usually with no addresses. However, two very well-known columnists appear to be steady customers under their own names. The files also show orders from some of Southern California's prominent corporations, particularly in the oil, real estate, supermarket and fashion businesses. One com-

pany recently bought 800 desk-pen sets with hidden mikes built in. Another ordered 300 "harmonica bugs," sophisticated devices that can be quickly slipped into any telephone to convert it to an open microphone picking up whispers anywhere in a large room.

BEDECKED WITH NERVE

Thoughtful eavesdroppers can find many ways to get into a home or office with their devices. At a 1959 Senate hearing, former Philadelphia District Attorney Samuel Dash testified:

"Your private specialist who taps . . . does it right in front of your eyes. He usually bedecks himself with screwdrivers and pliers and has wire hanging all over him. He will ring the doorbell and say: 'Madam, I'm from the telephone company; your line has been reported, trouble on the line' . . . Take the lawyers' offices, professional people's offices—they have maintenance men who go in an out. I have been able to observe the telephone multiple box of a large office open and a man working on it and no one questioning whether he was a maintenance man and had a right to be there."

A current book on invasions of privacy shows a photo of hidden investigators firing a shotgun toward a distant house. The caption says, "Special shotgun has just released 'spike mikes' that, once embedded in the frame of a window or door, transmits private conversations to the eavesdropper." The dart was built experimentally by an engineer, who found that on impact at only 35 feet, its microphone shattered. Nevertheless, the U.S. Army was sufficiently fascinated by the idea to try to make one. A high-powered argon with a half-inch barrel was procured from Abercrombie and Fitch, and the engineer was commissioned to fabricate six spike mikes to fit the darts it would shoot. All broke on impact.

Then there is the story of a factory employee who sold mimeographed scandal about fellow workers until a plant detective caught her listening in on a private telephone conversation.

A San Francisco restaurant has been caught with mikes under each table. A rabbi and a Baptist minister are known to have been bugged. A Catholic priest is said by members of his parish to have discovered a listening device in his confessional.

In 1957, a committee of the California Legislature uncovered hidden microphones in the sales offices of used-car dealers. Prospective buyers were left alone there to talk over possible purchases. Then the eavesdropping salesman would reappear to close a deal at the highest possible price within the purchasers' range. Jessica Mitford found morticians using the same systems in selling caskets to bereaved families. Certain reators are also known to have bought bugging equipment. The Legislature's committee concluded that professional eavesdropping in California was a lively, active, lucrative private business."

BUGGING THE CHAIR

The Wall Street Journal recently reported that a land development company lost several hundred thousand dollars in potential profits when on five occasions someone bought land the company needed. It brought in a detective, who located a bug in an office chair.

There is little doubt that law enforcement officers also bug widely and, while eavesdropping, police can scarcely avoid hearing many other private talks. In the Columbia Law Journal, Professor Alan F. Westin reported: "In the course of tapping a single telephone, a police agent recorded conversations involving . . . the Juilliard School of Music, Consolidated Radio Artists, Western Union, a bank, a drugstore, a real estate company, many lawyers, a dry cleaner, numerous bars, a garage, the Prudential Insurance Company, a health club, the Medical

Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, dentists, brokers, engineers, a police station."

In such cases, attorney Edward Bennett Williams points out, "scores of persons who were suspected of no crime were subjected to this kind of surveillance. What they believed to be private conversations were invaded by the ears of the police. Intimate details of the lives of these people became a matter of record in the files of the Police Department."

POLITICAL CARE

People wonder whether private detectives every try to bug the conferences of political personages. In 1953, a Secret Service agent picked up FM broadcasts of Sen. Wayne Morse's private conversations in his home and office, but neither Morse nor the Service ever found the hidden microphones. During the recent California campaign for Governor, Ronald Reagan carried in his breast pocket a small device sold for \$149.50 by a Van Nuys manufacturer. Called an anti-bug, it was advertised as a "highly sophisticated electronic instrument which effectively jams all commonly used electronic eavesdropping transmitters."

More and more jamming devices are coming on the market. So are electronic "sweepers" that squeal when pointed at a bug. But they have limitations. Most sweepers are mute unless held within 3 feet of a bug.

Sweepers and jammers are useless against listening devices that transmit by wire instead of radio. The only means of blocking such bugs is to find the hidden wires, which now can be made almost invisible, or can even be built into walls.

Former Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach has called the Federal anti-wiretap bill "totally unsatisfactory." There are no Federal statutes on electronic eavesdropping, although a new FCC regulation prohibits the use of radio devices for snooping.

So, more or less by default, for the past two decades bugging has been taking root among American folkways. The U.S. Government itself, through its General Services Administration, nurtured the process. In 1958, a sharp-eyed critic noticed that the GSA price list of "office supplies" available to all Federal agencies included handy Minifon bugging equipment that could be quickly concealed around the office.

The GSA admitted it had bought \$141,136 worth of bugs for bureaucrats in the previous three years. It halted this service forthwith, due to uproar in Congress, but nobody was naive enough to think that public servants had therefore stopped bugging each other and the public. A 1962 report by the House Committee on Government Operations noted that "more than 5000 gadgets to permit telephone eavesdropping still are attached to Government telephones in the Washington area alone."

STINGING CENSURE

In the comparatively primitive 1950's, when the hidden mike had to be connected with a wire to the Listening Post, Long Beach, Calif., police surreptitiously entered the house of a suspected bookie three times to place and replace a bug in different parts of the hall and bedroom. After months of monitoring, via a wire through a hole they had bored in the roof, the sleuths got enough evidence to convict the suspect. His lawyers, discovering the wire and bug, fought the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court's decision included a stinging attack on the police department:

"That officers of the law would break and enter a home, secrete such a device, and listen to the conversation of the occupants would be almost incredible if it were not admitted," wrote Justice Robert H. Jackson (who as Attorney General 13 years earlier had authorized FBI wiretapping in kidnapping and espionage cases). He pointed out that